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FIRST THINGS FIRST

NEW PRIORITIES FOR AMERICA

BY SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY

HIS SPECIFIC PROGRAM FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF A SOCIETY IN DIRE CRISIS

"WHAT CAN ONE MAN DO?

It now seems just barely possible that one man, by no means the most influential or powerful, has changed the course of our political life. . . .

"In so far as the political situation has become transformed within the parties, on the campus, and in the nation as a whole, I think the immediate cause was Eugene McCarthy's willingness to take risks. . . . Single-handedly, he created a possibility of choice. . . .

"Each public man had to make a decision, and only one, it should be remembered, chose to act in a way that would give [the people of] this country a chance to express itself through the political system." Irving Howe, *The New York Review of Books*

Presidential contender Eugene McCarthy challenges America to rise to the greatness of its power, its people, and its traditions. Here, in this Broadside, he outlines his program toward a national reconciliation and solutions to our crises. The Publisher believes this program must be fully considered by every voter in 1968.

BROADSIDE: "A vigorous, effective attack . . . a political message." Webster

IN THE TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY PRESS, THE PUBLISHER PRESENTS FIRST THINGS FIRST: NEW PRIORITIES FOR AMERICA BY SENATOR EUGENE J. MCCARTHY.

FIRST THINGS FIRST: NEW PRIORITIES FOR AMERICA

by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy

A Signet Broadside

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Foreword

When I began the writing of this book my hope was that it would serve as more than an analysis of our domestic and foreign problems, and as more than simply a set of policy recommendations. I wanted the book to be considered also as a call to political action.

The current view was that although America was clearly in crisis, there was nothing that could be done. It seemed that neither the United States government nor the individual citizen could do anything until we received that "signal" from Hanoi. It was implied that merely to *try* to break out of the paralysis we were in would itself be unpatriotic, or at least disloyal to a Democratic Administration.

In the days since the major part of the book was completed, events have dramatically altered the direction and the spirit of America. Many citizens rejected, as I did, the contention that we could not act in 1968, that we had to sit helplessly by for at least another four years. President Johnson, sensing properly, I believe, the changing mood of the nation, announced that he would not seek or accept renomination. And then, there came the grim and tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., underscoring more starkly than ever the urgent need to give priority to establishing an order of justice in America.

In the wake of these developments, it seems clear that the great need of our nation is not simply to end the Vietnam war, but to

create an America *in* which there is hope and *for* which there is respect.

Right judgment, rather than expediency, must be the mark of our political system, and our democracy must be characterized, again, by the spirit that John Adams once described as "public happiness," a spirit which is reflected in a delight in participation in public discussion and in public action, a joy in citizenship and in self-government, a spirit which, said Adams, possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought.

We need to guarantee to every American—from the simplest and least advantaged, to those with the greatest talents—the basic civil rights to a home in a community, to a job, to education, to health care, and, at the very least, to the assurance of a minimum income, so that as free individuals, we can each pursue excellence in our own way.

Abroad, we must carefully re-examine the role of America in the world, a role which sees us assuming, even without consciously knowing it, the character of an imperialist power. The Vietnam war is in character with other direct military interventions we have made in the internal affairs of other nations, based upon a presumption of American moral rightness. We must ask whether such unilateral applications of American power—in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, at the Bay of Pigs—have truly served the cause of collective security or our own national well-being.

We need to recognize that if we are to survive as a republic for another hundred years and beyond, our institutions of government must be purified and revitalized; that there must be limits to the personalized power of the Presidency in particular, and that we must restrain the power of largely self-contained entities such as the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Selective Service System, and, more generally, what has come to be known as the military-industrial complex.

Above all, there is a need in America for a great reconciliation, for a healing of the divisions and animosities between races and generations and factions.

We live in a time of great change, of great anxiety, and of great confusion. It is a time that calls not for shouting, not for the more subtle forms of demagoguery, but for thoughtful reflection. The problems we face will not be solved by war or by the language of

war, not through fear or suspicion, but only through trust, dedication, and reasoned judgment.

It is my hope that, in this spirit, we can move toward the resolution of our problems in 1968 by a kind of new politics for America —a politics of personal responsibility, a politics of the application of knowledge and reason. It is a politics with a new constituency—not a constituency of special interests or of separate groups put together like a jigsaw puzzle, but a constituency of conscience, of common concern, and of common commitment.

The year 1968 is a year of testing for America—the testing of our political processes, the testing of our priorities, and the testing, principally, of the people of this land. I think that at some later time, people will ask, "What did you do in 1968?" And I hope that we shall all be able to say that we did what we could, that we did not fail the test of 1968.

Chapter One

The Burden of Patriots

Albert Camus once expressed the hope that he would always be able to love his country without loving justice any the less. The true patriot, he said, was one who loved his country not for what it was but for what it ought to be. "That," he wrote in one of his *Letters to a German Friend,* "is what separated us from you; we made demands. You were satisfied to serve the power of your nation and we dreamed of giving ours her truth."

This is the kind of patriotism that Americans have long practiced and are practicing today. We have always been a people who discriminated among our wars, just as we have always differed about our domestic policies.

In 1812 most of New England was opposed to what it felt was an unnecessary war with Britain. Daniel Webster declared that "if we could perceive that the present war was just; if we could perceive that our rights and liberties required it; if we could perceive that no Administration, however wise, honest, or impartial, could have carried us clear of it . . . the war would, in some measure, cease to be horrible."

In 1848 there was widespread opposition to America's conduct of the war against Mexico. "We are in the midst of a war, not waged at home in defense of our soil, but waged a thousand miles off, and in the heart of territories of another government," declaimed Webster. And Abraham Lincoln, then a freshman Congressman, voted for a resolution stating that the war had been unnecessarily and un-

constitutionally begun by President Polk. "I am one of those who joined in that vote," Lincoln said, "and I did so under my best impression of the *truth* of the case."

Also guided by their best impression of the truth were numerous eminent Americans who, in 1898, objected to the transformation of the war against Spain into a war to suppress Philippine independence. The critics of that war included former Presidents Cleveland and Harrison, Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, William James, and Samuel Gompers.

In the twentieth century, World Wars I and II and the Korean war each received what might fairly be described as universal national support. We grew accustomed, perhaps, to the notion that all of America's wars were just wars, and that to question their necessity or their wisdom was somehow to impugn the justness of America's motives.

The present war does not fit into this twentieth-century pattern. Reasonable and patriotic men, including many clergymen and retired military leaders, have questioned not our high motives but the wisdom of our policies on strictly rational or practical grounds.

The Administration currently in power, however, seems to have equated approval of its policies with love of our country, and has taken the position that questioning those policies amounts to a betrayal of our fighting men in Vietnam. General Earle G. Wheeler, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, proclaimed that criticism of Administration policy was "the single most important factor in prolonging the war." Secretary of State Dean Rusk, asked at a background press conference whether the United States had sufficient advance intelligence concerning a recent Viet Cong offensive, snapped back to the reporter: "Whose side are you on? Now I'm the Secretary of State and I'm on our side!"

At a White House ceremony on May 2, 1967, posthumously honoring a Marine sergeant, the President "reminded" war critics of the "price of dissent":

> The debate will go on—so long as we are a democracy—so long as men like Peter Connor shoulder their packs and face —not hostile placards and debating points—but the bullets and mortars of marching aggressive armies. The debate will go on, and it will have its price. It is the price our democracy must be prepared to pay . . .

It should be clear to any objective observer that American soldiers are dying in Vietnam not because I, or other Senators, or the National Council of Churches, or some editors and columnists, or some professors and students, have criticized Administration policy in Southeast Asia. Our soldiers have died carrying out military operations under the orders of this Administration.

Imputations of lack of patriotism or responsibility for death have no place in a discussion of this war.

If ever there was a time for clear thinking and honest speaking, that time is now. Yet, instead of a clear-cut exposition of our purposes in Southeast Asia, we have been presented with a series of false dilemmas. Either you support the Administration, we have been told, or you are "not on our side," you are a "quitter," a "Nervous Nellie," an "apostle of retreat," an "appeaser," a "neo-isolationist." Either you stick by Dean Rusk, or you surrender all of Southeast Asia to Communist China. Either you rally behind the Administration, or you line up with the agents of Peking and the foes of liberty. We are admonished that we must support our Commander-in-Chief because "the Communists in Vietnam are watching."

By putting its case in these terms, the Administration demeans the intelligence of the American voter and discredits the democratic process. It is a mark of our nation's strength that so many Americans have refused to grant their leaders the immunity from criticism that they plead for in the name of patriotism. It is proof not of weakness but of democratic vitality that our people reject the contention that, once a war is started, debate must end and we must all rally to the struggle, regardless of its causes and objectives, regardless of the means employed, regardless of its costs and its contribution or lack of contribution to American well-being.

Of course, the Administration admitted when pressed that it could tolerate "discussion" of the war in Vietnam. This was a generous concession—though many Americans were under the impression that freedom of speech was not a gift of any Administration, but a somewhat older and more inalienable right. What the Administration would not readily abide, however, was discussion that led to political *action*. And to justify its opposition to action, Administration leaders came up with several rather ingenious arguments.

The first argument put forward was that Congress was powerless to influence the conduct of Administration policy in Vietnam,

so Senators ought not to get excited. In a press conference on August 18, 1967, President Johnson said, with respect to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution:

> . . . We stated then, and we repeat now, we did not think the resolution was necessary to do what we did and what we're doing. But we thought it was desirable and we thought if we were going to ask them [Congress] to stay the whole route and if we expected them to be there on the landing we ought to ask them to be there on the take-off.

Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach went a bit further. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Katzenbach asserted that the Constitution "compelled" Congress to support the President's policy, and to buttress this remarkable contention he quoted, of all people, Thomas Jefferson. This was a most original interpretation of Thomas Jefferson, and an even more imaginative analysis of Congress's Constitutional power to declare war and the Senate's Constitutional authority to "advise and consent" in the formation of foreign policy.

The Administration's second battle line against political action has been the plea for "party unity." At first blush it might appear extraordinary that a man who won his party's Presidential nomination after promising no wider war, and who was elected on a party platform of restraint in Southeast Asia, should demand adhesion to a totally different policy in the name of "party unity." Yet that was the tactic that had been devised.

The Postmaster General made speeches asking for party unity while postal rates went up and mail service deteriorated. The Secretary of Agriculture denounced protest while the parity index of farm prices fell to its lowest level since the Depression. The Secretary of the Interior called for party unity while the pollution of our air and waters grew daily more serious. The Secretary of Labor complained about the way the press treated the Administration, indicating that all should be united, while the copper strike dragged on for more than eight months. And the Secretary of State was calling for an end to criticism while refusing for two years to appear in public hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which his own party holds the majority.

To strengthen the appeal for party unity, the claim was advanced

that, after all, the Administration's policy in Vietnam was merely the culmination of the Democratic foreign policies of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy. The analogy was made to Munich, with the implication that the Administration was containing in Vietnam a threat of global aggression equivalent to the one that President Roosevelt stopped a generation ago in Europe and Asia.

Can anyone seriously believe that Ho Chi Minh, with his 16 million poverty-stricken people, with scarcely an air force and almost no navy, with a primitive agricultural economy which has already been largely destroyed, presents the same kind of threat that Hitler presented in the 1930s?

The argument was so weak that it had to be embellished with a more frightening specter. The Vice-President informed us that what we are really fighting is not Ho Chi Minh or the Viet Cong, but "militant, aggressive Asian communism with its headquarters in Peking, China."

There is little evidence to support such an assertion. Rather, it seems clear that North Vietnam has never been a puppet of China, but in fact has consistently struggled to maintain its independence from China despite our unrelenting efforts to drive it into Peking's arms. If containing China is our aim, our strongest bulwark must be indigenous Asian nationalism—nationalism which cannot be manufactured by half a million American soldiers, no matter how much we spend or how many Vietnamese we kill.

If the Administration's policy could not quite be traced back to Franklin Roosevelt, its spokesmen had a kind of fallback position from the Munich analogy: that the intervention in Vietnam is supposed to be at least comparable to Truman's action in Korea. But again, it is clear that Korea and Vietnam are two distinct cases.

There was little doubt that the invasion of South Korea by North Korea was prompted by the Soviet Union, that it occurred at a time when communism was still a relatively unified international movement, when the extension of communism meant the automatic extension of Russian power and, ultimately, a genuine increase in the Soviet threat to United States interests.

Moreover, when President Truman took the United States into Korea, we had the support of our allies in Europe and Asia and of the United Nations itself. This support was not merely verbal or token. It was political and moral support, and it was expressed

with substantial contributions to the military effort. In addition, the government of South Korea, for all its shortcomings, was effectively supported by the people.

No such conditions prevail in Vietnam today.

There is yet another contention that the Administration has flung at Democrats—the assertion that, if it was not Roosevelt or Truman they were following, at least it was John F. Kennedy.

But this too rings false—for Kennedy, despite his enlargement of our commitment to Saigon, seemed to recognize that the war in Vietnam, if it could be won at all, had to be won by the South Vietnamese; that it was their war, not ours. To Americanize it as we have done—to the extent that South Vietnamese have been asking why *they* should draft their eighteen-and nineteen-year-olds to fight the battles of the United States—serves only to undermine the will and purpose of the Vietnamese on our side, and to strengthen the determination of the Vietnamese who oppose us.

The hard truth is that the majority of Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who have criticized the President's Vietnam policy are not the dissenters. The dissenters are in the Administration. And no amount of rhetoric can or should be allowed to conceal this fact.

It is the Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other Democratic critics of the Administration—not President Johnson, Vice-President Humphrey, or Dean Rusk—who have remained most faithful to what I believe are the five basic principles of Democratic foreign policy:

First, that America must not shrink from war when liberty is at stake, but that we must not conduct war upon the poor who cannot harm us;

Second, that primary reliance in foreign policy must be placed on political rather than military solutions; that B-52s and defoliation chemicals are no substitute for negotiations between internal political forces within a foreign country;

Third, that in building world order and peace, the United States must work in concert with its friends; that "going it alone" is really what isolationism is all about;

Fourth, that the standing of America in the world is not primarily determined by the size of our arsenal or our willingness to take to arms, but by the ideals that America embodies and, as Thomas

Jefferson wrote nearly two hundred years ago, by the "decent respect" we pay to the opinions of mankind;

And fifth, that in foreign as in domestic policy, the leaders of government must be truthful with Congress and the people; that when they ask for a major commitment they must state their purpose clearly and without ruse.

The virtues of party unity are not lightly to be rejected. But loyalty must be to principles as well as to personalities; it must apply to those at the top as well as to those who are further down. If these conditions do not hold, then blind fealty to those who happen to be party leaders may in fact damage rather than help the future strength and appeal of a party. Before this campaign began, the Democratic party was in danger of losing the faith of the young people, of the academic community, and of the millions of other Americans who saw its leaders steering our country not down the path to greatness, but down a dead-end street to frustration, confusion, and senseless slaughter.

If party unity is our goal, I suggest there is a time and a place to discuss it. The time to talk about party unity is *after* the Democratic National Convention, not several months before. It is not the function of an incumbent Administration to determine the platform and nominees of the party. That is the function of the National Convention, taking into account the will of the people as expressed in the primaries and the party processes. The people must not be denied the right to speak—and to be heard.

The Administration's cries for an end to criticism, its slurs upon the patriotism of its critics, its premature and hollow pleas for party unity, have been its way of responding to what, I think, is a deep and growing national malaise.

America is an affluent country. Our economic system, whose efficacy was doubted in the 1930s, has proved itself both stable and bountiful. The geographic solidity of the Union, which was challenged in the 1860s, is no longer questioned.

Yet as we approach the 1970s there is great uncertainty in the land. For the first time since the Depression, Americans are asking whether our republic, as we know it, can survive on its present course. We are not threatened with imminent attack, economic collapse, or sectional dismemberment. There is no single danger that can be precisely pinpointed. Yet all around us are signs that

something is gravely wrong—that an erosion of spirit is occurring which may be far more serious than any decline of gross national product or weakening of our military might.

We have seen an alienation of America from its President, a President who had to go around the country and around the world without advance notice and without straying far from military installations. We saw, until recently, a growing distrust among our young people of the processes of democracy, a growing belief that these processes were irrelevant to their lives. We see America armed with more missiles and more weapons of mass destruction than any emperor or king could have dreamed of, yet more isolated and more suspect than at any time in our history. We see violence and lawlessness in our cities, and an accelerating polarization of our society into hostile black ghettos surrounded by hostile white suburbs. We see rising concentrations of power, both in and out of government, subject to fewer and fewer checks and balances. And all around us, we see a mounting sense of individual powerlessness.

These phenomena, ominous as they are in themselves, are not altogether new, nor are they wholly the product of the Vietnam war. Many of our present problems would be with us today, though less acutely, even under different leadership.

What is new, and what is very much a product of the Administration's single-minded preoccupation with the war in Vietnam, is the feeling that these problems are not being solved *and are not about to be solved.* It is the disappearance of *hope* under the present Administration that is the most unsettling fact about America. It was the disappearance of hope that was primarily responsible, until this campaign began, not only for the continuing rise of extremism on the right and nihilism on the left, but also for the anguish and anger of millions of Americans, white and Negro, who have long considered themselves near the political center.

Always in the past, America was a land of confidence, open to the future. People felt that through individual labor and democratic politics, they could stake their claim to economic security and to peace of mind. Here was a country not being held by the dead hand of the past nor frightened by the violent hand of the future. Here was youth and opportunity and a spirit of honest optimism.

We had it in the dark days of 1932 and in 1941 when our nation was openly threatened. We had it in 1948 when the Cold War became a reality, and in 1963 when coexistence seemed at last

possible and America was responding to the constructive challenges of greatness. But by 1967 it was gone.

What was the mood of America in 1967? It was a joyless spirit, a mood of anxiety and frustration. Faced with revolution abroad and near insurrection at home, we had been led into a kind of national paralysis.

Even today, the Administration is unable to allay the sense of hopelessness or respond adequately to the enormous challenges that confront us.

It was not easy to be an optimist in America in 1967. But I believed that the spirit of hope and the forward progress that was ours such a brief time ago could not have been lost irretrievably.

"The great privilege of the Americans," Alexis de Tocqueville wrote more than one hundred years ago, "does not consist in being more enlightened than other nations, but in being able to repair the faults they may commit." This I think we can do and are doing.

I do not believe that this must be an America in which fear seems to hang as a cloud. It can be an America which is characterized, as our country always has been, by openness and by hope. It need not be an America which seems to be guided by a kind of narrow expediency. It can be an America, again, which pursues our high ideals and principles.

To achieve this restoration is the burden of each of us, Democrat and Republican. It is the burden which we carry as citizens of our country; the burden we carry if we are to say, as we all must, that we are patriots.

Chapter Two

Riots and Race: The American Response

The most important struggle for the future welfare of America is not in the jungles of Vietnam; it is in the streets and schools and tenements of our cities. Yet the commitment of resources and moral energy to the problems of our cities has been but a fraction of the amount committed to the Saigon regime.

The rent supplement program, launched with great fanfare and promise for the future, involves a commitment of perhaps one-tenth the amount of American funds that are lost each year just to corruption in South Vietnam. The entire annual budget of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is less than what the Administration spends chasing Viet Cong in twenty-eight days.

We see the priorities of the Administration in small acts as well as in budget figures. The phrases "Great Society" and "war on poverty" have vanished from the Administration's rhetoric. Outstanding public servants such as John W. Gardner, the recent Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, have left the Administration as domestic programs have taken a back seat to the war.

From time to time the Administration has assured us that we can wage the war in Vietnam and simultaneously alleviate the hopelessness of the poor and the exploited in our own country. We have been told that it is possible to spend $30 billion a year in Vietnam and still have safe and beautiful cities. The hard fact is that it cannot be done.

The Administration is not unaware of the problems of the cities; it is not unwilling to act. Its tragedy is that it *cannot act* because it is trapped between the mounting costs of the war and a Congress that believes the federal deficit should get no larger.

Crime, violence, and riots were present on the American scene long before the Vietnam conflict, and will remain with us after Ho Chi Minh's demise.

Individual crimes have been increasing in some categories, and decreasing in others. The murder rate is not increasing; it is one third less than in 1933. However, thefts and burglaries have risen sharply, as have bodily assaults. The press may play up Negro crimes against whites, but they are exceptional. Very few major crimes are interracial. And there seems to be no special racial propensity for individual crime: the crime rate for Negroes and for whites living in similar social-economic circumstances is nearly the same.

Violence, individual or collective, may not be "as American as cherry pie," as one current apostle has put it, but it is no stranger to our shores. Motion pictures and television programs that feature violence are apt to be highly popular. We built a nation by forcefully dispossessing the Indians, and frontier law was for many decades based on the survival of the fittest. Lynch mobs were used to keep the Negro "in his place" following emancipation. In the American Negro's view of history, law and order understandably have had an ambiguous sound: the law upheld slavery, and then upheld segregation until 1954 and beyond; order was violated with impunity by the Ku Klux Klan and overzealous Southern sheriffs.

No other modern Western nation in the same time span has had as many heads of state killed as has America. Only one British prime minister has ever been assassinated.

Riots, the historical record shows, have occurred for trivial and foolish reasons as well as for the highest purposes of justice and liberty. In Europe and America there have been riots by racial and nationality groups, by rural peasants and urban workers, by students, by religious minorities, and against religious minorities. There have been riots in prison and out. There have been riots under the most despotic and tyrannical governments, despite the

penalties of death and reprisal on families, and riots in free democratic societies.

Americans have rioted for causes worthy and unworthy.

Every riot is a protest against real or assumed maltreatment or injustice. When riots occur in the scope and depth of those occurring in the United States, we must go behind the immediate incidents and look for the basic reasons which cause people to participate in, or at least acquiesce to, violence of this kind. We must seek out the source for the bitterness that moves people from protest to violence.

In the case of American race riots, the general causes have not been difficult to discover. For nearly three centuries, America has been a kind of colonial society in which Negroes were separated, first as slaves, then as captive citizens of a distinct cultural and economic environment with different standards and different expectations. In the rural South as well as the urban North, Negroes have suffered not only the degradation of institutionalized poverty but also the humiliation and frustration of discrimination and segregation.

During World War I, when the migration of Negroes to the North began to reach significant proportions, there were race riots in East St. Louis, Chester, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. In the summer of 1919, a major riot broke out in Chicago in which thirty-eight persons were killed. A commission appointed by the Governor of Illinois reported that "the riot was merely a symptom of serious and profound disorders lying beneath the surface of race relations in Chicago." The commission cited overcrowded housing, friction between whites and Negroes in employment, and a "widespread and deep-seated racial prejudice among whites against Negroes" as basic causes of the outbreak.

Subsequent riots led to subsequent reports which make all too familiar reading today. After the Harlem riot of 1935, Mayor La Guardia's investigating committee attributed the Negroes' breach of order largely to

> their deep sense of wrong through discrimination in employment in stores which live chiefly upon their purchases, discrimination against them in the school system and by the police, and all the evils due to dreadful overcrowding, unfair rentals and inadequate institutional care. It is probable that their justifiable pent-up feeling, that they were and are the victims of gross injustice and prejudice, would sooner or later have brought about an explosion.

In the summer of 1943 major fighting between whites and Negroes broke out in Detroit, and Harlem exploded again after a white policeman shot a Negro soldier. A sociologist studying the Harlem riot concluded that it was "primarily due to the increased goals placed before the Negro citizen today, democratic goals of equal service and effort asked as his contribution to the war program, goals to which he responds but whose rewards are denied him, thus increasing the frustrations of his position and provoking him to protest and aggression."

In the early 1960s, following years of racial turmoil in the South, disturbances flared in Harlem again, in Rochester, Jersey City, Chicago, and other Northern communities. When, in the late summer of 1965, nearly ten thousand Negroes took violently to the streets in the Watts section of Los Angeles, the illusion that the Negro was steadily being made part of America was effectively shattered.

The McCone Commission, appointed by Governor Brown, concluded that "the Negro can no longer exist, as he has, with the disadvantages which separate him from the rest of society, deprive him of employment, and cause him to drift aimlessly through life." It added that "the existing breach, if allowed to persist, could in time split our society irretrievably. So serious and so explosive is the situation that, unless it is checked, the August riots may seem by comparison to be only a curtain-raiser for what could blow up one day in the future."

It was a prophecy that required little time to be fulfilled. In the past two summers, we witnessed explosion after explosion, culminating in the horrendous upheavals in Newark and Detroit, where tanks and United States Army paratroopers had to be used to restore order.

The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, after months of careful investigation, reported to the nation: "We found that Negroes were severely disadvantaged, especially as compared

with whites; that local government is often unresponsive to this fact; that federal programs have not yet reached a significantly large proportion of those in need; and the result is a reservoir of unredressed grievances and frustration in the ghetto."

The grim realities of ghetto life have, in short, been known for generations by those who cared to know. We knew before the recent riots that most Negroes had completed fewer years of education than whites and that fewer had attended high school. We knew that Negroes were twice as likely as whites to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled or service jobs. We knew that Negro income averaged 70 per cent of the income earned by whites, and that Negroes were twice as likely to be living in poverty. We knew that although housing cost Negroes relatively more, their housing was three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard.

We knew all these things, yet not enough was done. It has taken too many summers of shocking violence to stir the nation's full attention. And now that there is awareness, there is also rising fear. America's greatness will be tested by its response: will we respond from conscience, or respond from fear?

No society can stand lawlessness, and every government is committed to maintaining public order. We need to improve the means used to forestall or contain rioting and to insure that the forces of order—whether they be local police, National Guardsmen, or federal troops—serve to reduce, and not augment, the level of violence. We need to establish better procedures for coordinating federal, state, and local efforts to protect the citizen's right to freedom from bodily harm.

Our response must not, however, be limited to police procedures, or prompted by a mania for repression. Already there are danger signs of rising vigilantism, of preoccupation with tanks, machine guns, and other weapons of indiscriminate destruction, of private rifle clubs urging all civilians to be armed. In Vietnam we are learning that brute force cannot win the hearts and minds of a population, that escalation of arms leads inevitably to counterescalation. These are lessons that ought not to be ignored in our cities.

What must our response be? We must, I think, face the fact—

underscored by the President's Commission—that we have failed to eradicate our colonialist heritage. The slow and belated progress in civil rights that characterized the 1950s and early 1960s has toppled some ancient barriers, but it has not reached into the lives of most Americans. Our society *is* tending to divide itself, psychologically, economically, and geographically. If we are to create hope where there has been only injustice, we must begin to decolonize America, in spirit as well as in fact.

This requires, first of all, a certain amount of political honesty. We must be careful not to deceive ourselves or the poor. We must aim at steady improvement, since we cannot solve all our problems in one year or five years. Leaders of government must not claim great strides so long as progress is mostly on paper—in the law books or in press releases. It is easy for politicians to say that *they* feel progress is being made; they do not have to live in the ghetto. Poor Americans have been understandably disillusioned with the political institutions of our democracy; we must not add to that disillusionment.

Decolonization requires, secondly, a concerted effort to diminish residential isolation of the races. As long as the new jobs, the better homes, and the better schools continue to be concentrated in our suburbs, while the influx of poor Negroes continues into the central cities, there will be no real progress toward a truly integrated America with full rights and opportunities for all.

For more than a quarter of a century, unskilled and semiskilled job opportunities have been moving away from, or failing to develop in, areas of Negro concentration. While Negroes have been migrating from rural areas to central cities, new employment in commerce, industrial construction, and services has tended to locate in the outlying sectors of our metropolitan areas, where for largely racial reasons Negroes have not been permitted to live. According to an executive vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers, more than 250,000 manufacturing jobs are available right now in our nation's suburbs. Yet the people who would most benefit from these jobs are to be found in the ghettos, where unemployment is on the rise.

An effective solution to the problem of minority unemployment, and the associated problems of segregated schooling, inadequate housing, family instability, and economic immobility, must, in my

view, look toward the movement of large numbers of Negro families to the suburbs.

Thirdly, the decolonization of America must involve an equitable distribution of power within a common society. Instead of white power over blacks or black power over whites, we should develop the concept and the practice of shared power. Minority groups must be allowed to participate actively in the exercise of political authority at the local, state, and federal levels. There is no good reason, for example, why there should not be forty or fifty Negro Congressmen and dozens of Negro Mayors. Large corporations and labor unions should similarly open their doors to minority groups at all levels. We cannot pretend to be anything other than a colonial society if all of our decisions—even decisions to help Negroes—are made almost wholly by whites.

Most importantly, there must be an enormous commitment of will and of resources on the part of our whole society. One of the less felicitous phrases in the Administration's Vietnam vocabulary has been the concept of "nation-building." If we can spend $30 billion a year to "nation-build"—in our peculiar way—in Southeast Asia, we can surely devote the same concentration of resources to "nation-building" in our own cities.

The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has spoken plainly enough: "There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience." *How many more riots and how many more studies do we need?*

Community organizations, municipal and state governments, private industry and labor unions have important responsibilities to fulfill. But only the federal government is capable of mobilizing and properly channeling our resources on the scale that is required.

The task will not be easy. Many of our problems have deep roots. We must contend with a long heritage of neglect, hostility, and violence. But we *have* the capacity to meet the challenge if we set our priorities. We can limit the amount to be spent on arms and on military adventures abroad; we can close a variety of tax loopholes and raise revenues in a more equitable way; we can put off our pursuit of the supersonic transport and even slow down our efforts to reach the moon if need be. It will not go away and we know what it is made of.

What has been lacking over the past few years are not the resources but an Administration with the right priorities, an Administration that will appeal not to fear but, again, to what is noblest and most generous in the American character.

Even with the proper direction and priorities, the road will be long and arduous. But we need not fail.

Chapter Three

The New Civil Rights

Unemployment, inadequate housing, bad schools, and limited access to health care are not the problems of Negroes alone. Though proportionately to their numbers, black Americans are poorer, most poverty in America is still white poverty. Though the Negro unemployment rate is far higher than the white, most of those who are unemployed or underemployed today are white Americans.

Nor are America's problems confined to our cities. Rural poverty is widespread, and needs to be confronted. The living standard of migratory agricultural workers is a national disgrace. Hundreds of thousands of family farmers, unable to make a decent living on the farm, have left the land. The right to stake a claim to higher income and security through collective bargaining, a right which has generally been accorded to the urban worker for over three decades, is still not enjoyed by the farmer.

The time has come, I believe, when we must define and advance a new concept of civil rights for America; not civil rights in the limited sense of the right to vote and to equal protection under the law, but basic rights which we now must hold to belong to every American. The new civil rights must include, principally, these five: the right to decent housing, the right to quality education, the right to health care, the right to a job, and the right to income security.

Civil rights are not given to us by revelation, nor can they be identified and carefully circumscribed for all times. They grow and

change as society changes. As different forces come to bear upon the lives of people—science and technology, new forms of communication and new forms of business organization, urbanization, the great increase in the mobility of our society—all of these have a bearing upon civil rights, on what they mean and how they can be realized.

As America has developed, our concept of the rights of citizens has progressed. In the 1860s, in addition to the new political rights set forth in Constitutional amendments, the right to a homestead was recognized as a civil right—a right guaranteed by the civil authorities. In the 1930s the right to a pension upon retirement and the right to some degree of compensation against loss of employment were deemed to be civil rights. In 1965 Congress established the right to health insurance for Americans over sixty-five years of age.

Today the potential of the American economy is such that it has become the responsibility of society to delineate and fulfill a far broader range of civil rights than we have provided for in the past. I believe that programs developed to advance these rights should, to the extent possible, be designed according to the following principles: First, they should be self-perpetuating programs—like the interstate highway effort—which are relatively secure from political interference. Second, they should not be primarily welfare or handout programs—which stigmatize the recipient as the object of someone else's beneficence—but nondiscriminatory programs such as Social Security and Medicare which apply to all citizens, regardless of race or of economic status.

The right to decent housing—not just to a house but to a home in a community, with adequate transportation and with space and facilities where people can develop as full human beings, free from discrimination and with at least a gesture of defense against ugliness —must be a civil right in America today. We have been proceeding in housing on a business-as-usual basis while our population expands and our central cities deteriorate. Existing housing programs are too limited, too selective, too bogged down in administrative confusion.

Last year Congress was engaged in bitter debate about rent supplements, rat control, and model cities. We managed to secure

appropriations of $10 million for rent supplements and $312 million for model cities.

These efforts, worthy in themselves, are pitifully inadequate. So are the old programs for public housing, which provided only 35,000 new units last year, most of which were not even in the larger cities. Urban renewal too often has cleared the way for luxury apartment buildings and shopping centers, frequently destroying more low-income housing than it built.

We need a comprehensive national housing program to do for housing what the Rural Electrification Administration did for our farms in the 1930s and the Federal Highway Act did for interstate freeways in the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1935, 90 per cent of the farms in our nation had no electrical service. Less than twenty years later, under the stimulus of the R.E.A., electric power was available to more than 90 per cent of our farms, with revolutionary results both in terms of agricultural productivity and decency of living.

The Federal Highway Act of 1956 authorized the construction of 41,000 miles of interstate highways at an estimated cost of over $40 billion. Last year the trust fund for the system provided over $4.2 billion, more than twice the appropriation for the entire Department of Housing and Urban Development.

We must develop a vigorous national housing program with equally far-reaching objectives—a program that will give vitality to the entire housing industry.

There are eight to twelve million substandard housing units in America today. New housing is presently being built at the rate of one and a half million units a year, but this is far short of the need. It is estimated that two and a half million new units are needed annually to keep pace with the increasing population and to substitute for existing substandard housing.

We should begin now to expand the capacity of the construction industry to meet this yearly need of approximately one million more units than we are currently building. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders has proposed a goal of six million housing units for low- and moderate-income families within the next five years. That goal should be met—whether or not the nation is at war. The housing industry must not be the principal victim of the monetary and fiscal policies of the particular moment.

There is no single plan for providing housing. Greater efforts by both private industry and government are necessary. Rent supplements in particular must be expanded. Obsolete building codes should be modified to allow use of modern low-cost construction techniques. But the special need today is to provide a major national stimulus—through moderate tax incentives and through much larger below-market interest-rate programs—and to provide the continued assurance of adequate funds and careful metropolitan planning.

Education must be defined as a civil right today, not just elementary and secondary education, but education for all persons according to their capabilities—not only for those who are gifted and talented, but also for those who are handicapped and even retarded.

American education is in trouble today because, while it has been improving slowly, the problems it must solve have been worsening rapidly.

The first need is for a much greater commitment of financial resources. When Congress first passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, the Administration spoke enthusiastically of expanding the program to $5 billion annually within a few years. Now the program—which provides funds for public as well as private school pupils with an emphasis on low-income areas—is constrained by the Vietnam war.

For fiscal 1969, Congress authorized $2.7 billion for Title I under the program. Because of rising military expenditures, the Administration is requesting only $1.2 billion—less than half the authorized amount.

Other education programs are also being severely cut back. Head Start classes will accommodate thirteen thousand fewer children this year than last. College construction has been drastically curbed; funds for textbooks and other education materials have been more than halved, and research expenditures are being oriented toward short-run military objectives at the expense of basic scientific research.

Money, however, is not the only need. We must also develop better ways to *spend* what funds we have, because the fact is that many local school systems have not been successfully educating our children.

Most school administrations know how to run schools for chil-

dren who learn quickly and easily, though these children often learn less than they should. But we have yet to develop adequate techniques for meeting the education needs of the disadvantaged.

Often our schools make poor children so miserable they become unable to learn at all. Many drop out psychologically while they are still in elementary school. Many drop out physically before finishing high school. Very few get beyond high school. And the sad fact is that we have not been able to do much about this.

There is no simple formula for improving education everywhere. But we ought to encourage a diversity of new approaches, especially for teaching poor and less-motivated children, so that we can develop sensible improvements to present methods.

One way to accomplish this is to allow new groups of people to manage some public schools, while making attendance at these schools voluntary. If this were done, many new ideas could be tried out. Community groups that now feel they have no voice in setting school policy could be permitted to manage a school. This would be especially valuable in predominantly Negro areas, where there is deep suspicion of white educational programs.

Groups of teachers could also be encouraged to administer some local schools. There are many experienced teachers who could run schools in ways different from those that now prevail. As long as parents are eager to send their children to such schools on a voluntary basis, we can only gain from diversity.

Ultimate public control of the public schools must, of course, be preserved. No board of education will want to abrogate its ultimate powers, and none should. No school should be turned over to community or teacher management groups unless they abide by certain basic standards, and public money should not go to any school unless it is open to everyone on an equal basis.

To encourage local initiative and diversity, the federal government ought to make funds available to school boards which want to contract with teacher or community educational groups. No school board should be required to do this, but those boards which choose to do so should get federal help.

In addition to improving elementary and secondary schooling, we must adjust our educational systems to meet the special problems arising from advancing technology and automation. The traditional climb up the employment ladder has been jarred by new strides in machinery and new techniques. Along with Head Start programs

to make sure our neediest youngsters get special attention, we need programs for the young, middle-aged, and the elderly, to retrain them for a modern America. Special educational programs should be established outside the formal school system—in community centers, in churches, and in other special facilities. Apprenticeship programs should be expanded. Outside the historic school system there is room for a host of educational programs which can more directly prepare Americans of all ages for fruitful labor.

The right to health care must be made a civil right today. This includes the right to medical attention for those in need and, in a more general way, the right to freedom from poison in one's food, in the atmosphere, in the waters, and to freedom from other forms of bodily danger.

The Medicare Act of 1965, coming after a struggle of nearly twenty years, was an enormous stride forward. So were other measures designed to improve the quality of our environment: the Air Quality Act, the Water Pollution Control Act, and consumer protection legislation to help make sure the food we eat is clean and wholesome.

But the Vietnam war has had its impact on health programs for our citizens. Medicaid expenditures—which provide assistance to the medically needy of whatever age—were restricted last year because of the budgetary squeeze. Although Congress authorized $750 million for fiscal 1969 to help clean up our rivers, the Administration has requested only $225 million. The effort against air pollution is running at about one third the authorized level. Though most city hospitals are outdated and ill-equipped, federal expenditures for hospital construction will be reduced by $35 million this year. Funds for health research facilities will be cut by $27 million. At a time when more than twice as many college graduates are applying for medical schools than are accepted, outlays for constructing and improving medical schools are to be decreased by $118 million. The new and very promising Neighborhood Health Center program—the only comprehensive federal health program directed specifically toward the urban and rural poor—will be unable to open the additional health centers that had been planned.

These programs ought to be financed, at the very least, at their presently authorized levels. Beyond that we must develop new programs to make the right to health a reality for all Americans.

The United States needs a health care system that is effective, efficient, and equitable. Our present system is open to criticism on all three counts.

The high infant mortality rate in this country is disturbing. So is the disparity in death rates for middle-aged male Americans as compared to their counterparts in other countries. In order to reduce these death rates, much greater emphasis will have to be placed on preventive care, health education, and environmental control.

All this requires an expanded public health service. Infant mortality can be reduced through greater prenatal care, especially in poor communities. Such care can be provided through mother-and-child clinics in the ghettos and, in rural areas, either through mobile clinics or by providing transportation for rural citizens. Medical care for young children, especially in ghettos, could be significantly improved through school health programs. Heart disease and cancer, which strike so many Americans in middle age, are most effectively attacked by increasing the opportunities for early detection and preventive care.

Our public health system needs an infusion of manpower at all levels. There is a need for medical assistants who could perform tasks that do not require an M.D. degree. Visiting nurses, under the supervision of general practitioners, could substantially increase the number of persons cared for in ghetto areas.

Our present system of health care is extremely expensive, and the costs to the individual are rising at an alarming rate. Last year Americans spent approximately $50 billion on health care, an amount equivalent to $250 for every man, woman, and child. In England, where there is a full-fledged national health service, the comparable figure was under $100 per person.

There are still millions of Americans who receive little, if any medical or hospital care, or who receive it under demeaning and degrading conditions. Our country has reached a level of affluence where we can afford to assure every person a basic level of care regardless of income.

We must devise a broadened system of government-sponsored health-insurance programs so that all citizens, of whatever age, are protected against the rising cost of decent health care. Most states require automobile liability insurance. There is no reason why the same concept that applies to protection against damage or injury

by automobiles cannot be applied to protection against all injury and all illness.

A comprehensive government-sponsored health-insurance system could rely upon the use of private nonprofit plans, and could be developed in accordance with the following general principles:

First, everyone would belong to, or be covered by, a plan providing at least basic hospital and medical care.

Second, there would be free choice of plans or groups, and plans would be adaptable to local conditions throughout the country.

Third, the federal government would subsidize premiums for low-income families.

Such a system would place a minimum burden on the federal government; the financial commitment would involve only the subsidization of premiums for low-income families. It would preserve competition as well as a large role for decentralized decision-making, and provide considerable freedom of choice for both patients and physicians.

The right to job opportunity must be made a reality. Americans must be able to say, "I have a right to a job and a decent income and need not be poor or unemployed."

In 1946 Congress passed the Full Employment Act, declaring it this country's policy that every man who was willing and able to work should be given the opportunity to do so. This was not meant to be merely a right defined in the abstract, but a right which was to be made a reality.

In the period of the Depression, economists talked about our economy having matured, about how we were going to have technological unemployment, that there were going to be too many people, too many workers in America. We realize now that we have not even approached the potential of our economy to produce.

The old excuse, the old way of escape, is no longer open to us. We have seen that our economy can provide work for all people and an adequate return for farmers, workers, businessmen, professional men, government employees.

In the past seven years, significant strides have been made under Democratic Administrations. In 1961 the unemployment rate reached 7 per cent. By the end of 1964 this rate had fallen to 5 per cent. The stimulus of the 1964 tax cut pushed the unemployment rate down to 4 per cent by the end of 1965. During 1966

and 1967, unemployment remained below the 4 per cent level for all but two months. This is an achievement we can be proud of. But the total record conceals unpleasant, grim injustices—the unemployment among those Americans that prosperity has by-passed.

Among Negroes and other minority groups, unemployment is almost double the overall rate; a staggering 26 per cent of Negro teenagers were unemployed during 1967. Even more distressing is the finding of a recent Department of Labor survey that one third of the people in our urban ghettos are subemployed—unemployed, underemployed, or severely underpaid. And the problems of urban unemployment continue to be aggravated by rural poverty. Some fourteen million Americans in rural areas are living in poverty of the most grinding sort. Bad as conditions in the slums may be, people continue to pour into them in order to escape the even worse conditions in rural areas.

The Johnson Administration has attempted to reduce urban unemployment, but its efforts have fallen far short of the magnitude of the problem. It is estimated that there are roughly a million potential urban workers without jobs—600,000 in the cities of Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit alone.

Last year the Administration launched a Concentrated Employment Program designed to train and place the hard-core unemployed in productive jobs. Nine months after its inception, however, C.E.P. had provided jobs for only 6,900 persons. The target had been 25,000 to 40,000.

The new program announced in the President's State of the Union Message—called Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, or J.O.B.S.—has as its goal the placing of about 100,000 adult men in industrial on-the-job training positions and then into jobs within twelve to eighteen months. Private enterprise is being enlisted as a working partner in the effort for the first time—a welcome innovation.

The basic concept of J.O.B.S. appears sound. However, it does not go far enough, nor is it likely to achieve even the limited impact that is hoped for.

Because of the rising expenditures for the Vietnam war, the money presently on hand for J.O.B.S. has had to be taken almost totally from other antipoverty projects. Thus, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which gave job experience and some training to about 570,000 young Americans last year, is being held to 400,000 this

year. The Job Corps, which offers intensive vocational training to hard-core young unemployed, is closing sixteen of its centers; its 41,000 enrollee capacity is to be reduced to 35,000. Locally conceived community action programs, which employ many nonprofessionals in the neighborhoods where they live, will also be curtailed.

We should develop employment programs which, like J.O.B.S., include the participation of private industry; but these programs must be of a magnitude to meet the challenge, and they must be coordinated with fiscal policies that stimulate, rather than restrain, the economy.

Businesses that contract with the federal government should be encouraged to hire jobless ghetto residents where possible.

We should also advance a new program of public-service jobs for the city poor. They could work to build parks and schools, new streets and housing, and other public facilities that our cities need. They could help provide vital services, working in hospitals and clinics, schools and community centers. Training for promotion on the job would make these positions gateways to greater opportunity. The $2.3 billion emergency employment program approved by the Senate Labor Committee last year would have been an important step in this direction. The program, however, was opposed by the Administration because of its Vietnam spending requirements.

In addition to the realization of job opportunity for all Americans, I believe the time has come to insure to those citizens who cannot work a minimum livable income.

Our present public assistance programs for the aged, the blind and disabled, the long-term unemployed, and for indigent families with dependent children, are outmoded, inefficient, and degrading. In many instances, welfare programs serve to perpetuate the very cycle of poverty that we should be breaking. They provide a strong disincentive for working, since most outside income earned must be subtracted from one's public assistance payment. They are an indignity to the recipient, whose life and habits are under the constant vigilance of social workers—professionals whose training should be used in more constructive ways, who should serve as helpers of the poor, not as their inquisitors.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.) programs frequently have the additional pernicious effect of encouraging the

dissolution of families. Public assistance to mothers with dependent children is normally not available if there is an able-bodied man in the house. All too often the caring father decides that it is necessary, for his children's well-being, to leave home.

Many of the shortcomings and indignities of our public assistance programs stem from a cultural and legal lag. These programs had their origin in the Elizabethan sixteenth-century poor laws, which were transferred to the colonies, and later were incorporated by the various state legislatures. Other modern societies have adapted their welfare systems to the economic potentials and the social realities of the twentieth century. It is time for the United States to do this also.

These, then, are the basic rights which belong to every American today. All of them involve an intellectual and a financial commitment, but the final test of the American citizen must be in the moral field, where ultimately we must ask that each person demonstrate the right attitudes toward the poor, the right attitudes toward the deprived and the denied, toward those who cause us trouble and uneasiness. Our responsibility is not just to humanity in the abstract or to the nice and beautiful people, but to everyone in our society.

We have more knowledge, more power, more capability to fulfill these rights than at any time in history. We must succeed.

Chapter Four

A Time to Act

In Czarist Russia, Catherine the Great once decided to inaugurate a program of rebuilding villages. When she went on tour, the lack of progress was concealed by her minister, Potemkin, who had elaborate facades erected along her route to create the appearance of new villages.

We have a kind of Potemkin-minded Administration in America today. With reference to Vietnam, they told us in 1964 that we were winning the war. In 1965 they said the corner was being turned. In 1966 they said the enemy was on its knees and that the South Vietnamese army was really improving. In 1967 and 1968 they said that 65 per cent of the country was under "control," that pacification was making great strides in the countryside, and that the cities, certainly, were secure. Yet by 1968 it was clear that the enemy was bolder than ever, that the pacification program had been largely a sham, and that not even the American Embassy in Saigon was secure.

At home, the pattern has been much the same. We were told we could have both guns and butter, that we could "nation-build" in Southeast Asia and still move peacefully toward a Great Society in America. We were told we were fighting a war on poverty, a war on ignorance, a war on hunger, a war on crime, a war on pollution. In fact, we have been fighting only one war—and winning none.

The great issue of 1968 is not only Vietnam. It is not only vio-

lence and poverty in the cities. It is the broader issue of the direction of our nation.

Five years ago America was progressing at home and respected abroad. There was hope in the land and faith in the sincerity of our political leaders. Quiet courage and civility had become the mark of American government, and new programs of promise and dedication had been presented: the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, the promise of equal rights for all Americans—and not just the promise, but the beginning of the realization of that promise.

This is not the direction of America today. In place of trust, there is doubt and disbelief. In place of progress, there is paralysis and even retrenchment. In place of success in the pursuit of peace, there is failure in war.

Five years ago, prices were relatively stable, the economy was healthy, and taxes were being lowered. Today, prices are rising steadily, the economic boom is slowing down, and we are being asked to raise taxes. Even the dollar, in the wake of the devaluation of the British pound, is questioned.

In the early 1960s, the deep concern of the young people of America was civil rights and the Peace Corps. Today, we have protests and demonstrations and drop-outs from society.

Within the community of nations, most of our alliances are crumbling. Not a single one of our historic European allies is with us in Vietnam. Our capacity to act in other areas of the world, such as the Middle East and Korea, has been severely restricted by our overcommitment to Saigon.

Never before has America been as isolated as it is today—not because we are withdrawing from the world, but because much of the world is withdrawing from us. Reports from all over the globe tell of rising hostility toward the United States and lack of sympathy with American purpose.

There is another danger, an internal danger, which may in the long run be of even more serious consequence for our democracy. The carefully drawn lines between the different branches of government are today being blurred, at a time when we should be making them sharper.

The President has interpreted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution almost as a vow by Congress of eternal obedience, a Congressional commitment far beyond what was intended when we were told that

our destroyers were attacked "without provocation" while on "routine patrol" on the high seas.

In appointing Earl Warren to head the commission investigating the Kennedy assassination, the President assigned the Chief Justice of the United States to a highly nonjudicial proceeding that could in no way be squared with the intent of the framers of the Constitution.

The involvement in political matters by active military officers has become alarming. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was asked to sign a statement to the effect that not only *could* Khesanh be defended, but that it *should* be defended. General William C. Westmoreland, the field commander in South Vietnam, was sent before a joint meeting of the Senate and House—an act which violated our tradition of keeping the active military out of politics, for the case he made was not only military but highly political.

Not of the same magnitude but still a matter for concern is the case of the Council of Economic Advisers. The Council has a very useful function, but only to the extent that Congress and the people believe that its advice on economic matters is essentially professional and not tinged by politics. The Council should not have allowed itself to be pressured, as it was in the celebrated fiasco of wage-price guidelines and as in 1966 when it made glowing statements about the economy instead of admitting the problems of inflation. But those pressures should not have been applied in the first place.

No one of these examples by itself may be of great consequence. But taken together, they assume significance.

What has been developing in our country is a personalized Presidency, independent of and unresponsive to the other institutions of government and the political party from which the President has come. The tendency is for the man in the White House to say, "This is *my* Presidency, *my* White House, *my* Vice-President, *my* Democratic party, *my* Air Force," and so on, whatever it might be.

None of this is important if we believe the Republic is going to fail. But if we feel, as I firmly do, that we are going to be around for another century or more, our direction should be toward purifying the functions of our institutions, not clouding them under the personality of a single man.

Eight years ago, at the Democratic National Convention, I said that the record of history showed that those who sought to gain power were not necessarily those who exercised it best in a democratic society. I said that I preferred to support a man who was sought out by the people to hold the office of the Presidency of the United States. I said that America needed a President who understood our people and who could inspire and release our nation's greatness.

Today, with our nation so deeply and emotionally divided, I believe this need to be greater still. Any man who offers himself or permits himself to be offered or supported for the Presidency must, I believe, meet at least three conditions of character, experience, and understanding.

He must, first of all, through his experience in government, through his comprehension of our people and of our history, be able to read with reasonable judgment the needs and aspirations of the people of this nation. He must understand what our young people and what our less-privileged citizens are seeking and where they are heading.

Secondly, he must know the limitations of power and influence, particularly since there is no greater power or influence than that entrusted by the people to their President. He should understand that this nation does not really have so great a need for the imposition of power from the top, because the potential for excellence and leadership exists in every American. The President must be a channel for the desires and aspirations of the people. He must never impose the weight of his office upon the nation, but rather guide it to the goals its people seek, largely by way of setting people free.

Thirdly, the office of the Presidency must never be a personal office. The role of the President—at all times, but especially in 1968 and beyond—must be one of uniting this nation, not one of adding it up in some way, not one of putting it together in bits and pieces or branding its institutions with his personal mark. For to unify America means to inspire it; it means to develop a sense of national character, with common purposes and shared ideals, and then to move on to the great task of establishing equality and justice for our people.

The need now is not for an accretion of Presidential power but for a great reconciliation, a reconciliation of race with race, a

reconciliation of the young and the old, of labor and management, of farmers and businessmen, of the academic community with society as a whole, of the Congress with the Presidency.

Above all, we must reconcile the thought and the spirit and the best traditions of our nation with the pressing need for action.

And so, as we advance into 1968, we must recognize and respond to the call for action.

For the past two years, members of Congress and the people of the United States have sought in a variety of ways to free America from an indefensible foreign policy. In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we held extensive public hearings on Vietnam and related matters. We drew up and unanimously approved a resolution declaring that future commitments of American troops should require the consent of Congress. The full Senate passed a resolution urging that the Vietnam conflict be taken to the United Nations. Day after day we spoke out on the floor of the Senate against the unending escalation of the Vietnam war.

Throughout the country, there were teach-ins, letters and petitions, books and articles, and other forms of lawful criticism of Administration policies. Clergymen, retired generals and admirals, diplomats, scholars, businessmen, and editors made the case again and again for de-escalation and a political settlement.

But none of this had any effect. So we came to the point where it was time to act politically. We could not wait another four years.

The Vice-President said that peace would not be made by the "walkers and the talkers." I agreed with that. I said the Vietnam war would be ended by politicians—and that every American, in this critical year of our nation's history, had to be a politician.

To do nothing in 1968 would have been to condone the *status quo*. To do nothing would have been to accept the notion that our national well-being was more threatened by Ho Chi Minh than by the riots and the fears in our cities; it would have been to affirm that the new spirit of America was a warlike spirit, that this nation, two hundred years after its revolution against colonialism, had to defend itself by waging horrible war against poor and distant peoples.

Such an affirmation could not have been—and was not—acceptable. Through the political process, the American people are rejecting it: bravely, intelligently, and indisputably.

I believe now that we can, again, hear America singing; that we can, once more, hear the carols described to us by Walt Whitman:

> Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be blithe and strong,
> The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,
> The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,
> The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat, the deckhand singing on the steamboat deck,
> The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, the hatter singing as he stands,
> The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his way in the morning, or at noon intermission or at sundown,
> The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or of the girl sewing or washing,
> Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else . . .

Let us sort out the music from the sounds and again respond to the trumpet and to the steady drum.

Senator Eugene J. McCarthy—A Biographical Sketch

Eugene J. McCarthy (Democratic–Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota) was born in Watkins, Minnesota, in 1916. He was graduated from St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota, in 1935, and received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1938. He holds honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws from St. Louis University and the College of Saint Thomas.

Mr. McCarthy was a teacher in public high schools and private colleges for ten years. During World War II, he served as a civilian technical assistant in military intelligence for the War Department. He was acting head of the sociology department at the College of Saint Thomas in St. Paul at the time of his election to Congress in 1948.

Re-elected in 1950, 1952, 1954, and 1956, Mr. McCarthy represented Minnesota's Fourth Congressional District in the House of Representatives for ten years. In the House he served on the Post Office and Civil Service, Agriculture, Interior and Insular Affairs, Banking and Currency, and Ways and Means committees.

Mr. McCarthy was selected to represent the Congress of the United States at several international meetings. In 1956 he was a delegate to the London Interparliamentary Conference. He was an official observer at the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs at Geneva in 1957, and a delegate to the 1956 and 1957 NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Paris. In 1958 he was a Congres-

sional delegate to the international conference of the World Health Organization in Minneapolis.

Senator McCarthy is a member of the Council on Religious Freedom and Public Affairs of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

In November, 1958, Mr. McCarthy was elected to the United States Senate. During his first six-year term, he served on several committees including Finance, Agriculture and Forestry, and Public Works. In 1959 and 1960 Senator McCarthy was chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Unemployment Problems. This committee was directed to make a thorough study of unemployment in the United States, and it reported its findings and recommendations to the second session of the Eighty-sixth Congress.

In 1964, Senator McCarthy was re-elected to the Senate by the largest popular majority ever received by a Democratic candidate in the history of Minnesota. Since 1965 he has served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and in 1967 as chairman of the subcommittee on African Affairs. The first of several of his bills to provide Congressional supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency was introduced in 1954, and since that time Senator McCarthy has been a vigorous leader in the effort to limit the role of the C.I.A. in the making of foreign policy. He has also been a strong supporter of legislation to reduce United States arms sales abroad, and an advocate of greater Senate responsibility in the shaping of foreign policy.

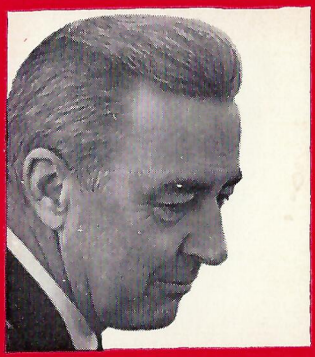
In 1965 he was appointed as one of the six original members of the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct and has served on this committee since that time.

He has also served on the Democratic Steering Committee for the past three years.

Senator McCarthy has contributed articles to many journals and has spoken at forums and conferences in this country and abroad. He is the author of *Frontiers in American Democracy* (World Publishing Company, 1960), *Dictionary of American Politics* (Macmillan Company, 1962), *The Challenge of Freedom* (Avon Book Company, 1962, paperback edition of *Frontiers in American Democracy*), *A Liberal Answer to the Conservative Challenge* (Macfadden-Bartell Corporation, 1964), and *The Limits of Power* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

Mr. McCarthy married Abigail Quigley in 1945. They have four children: Ellen, Mary, Michael, and Margaret.

On November 30, 1967, Senator McCarthy announced his candidacy for the Presidency of the United States.



America must reconcile its bitterly divided races and its alienated generations. We must unite in common commitment to a common cause.

Not white power, not black power, but shared power—participation in political authority by minority groups at local, state, and federal levels—is essential to a new order of justice.

To do nothing in 1968 would have been to condone the idea that Ho Chi Minh was a greater threat to our nation than the fears, riots, and poverty in our cities. This was not acceptable.

One man in the U.S. Senate believed democracy could still work at a time of national paralysis and crisis. Because he had the single-handed courage to prove it, America has witnessed the "Miracle of New Hampshire" and an incredible renaissance of the democratic political system that has rallied our dissenting youth and may yet give representative power back to the people.

Senator Eugene McCarthy, in an extraordinary publishing event, defines for this SIGNET SPECIAL BROADSIDE the views, principles, and programs that led him to launch one of the most important presidential campaigns in the history of American politics.